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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to account for some of the results from a contrastive study of Spanish and Danish communicative behavior, where the focus of attention has been directed towards the microlevel of discourse in order to find recurrent patterns in the local management of conversation. The use of speaker and hearer references, topic allocation, and topic progression are the subjects of the analysis. The data used for the analysis consist of videotapes of role-plays recorded during negotiation seminars arranged by Spanish and Danish training centers. It is argued that the functional value of these patterns can be explained in terms of the immediacy concept and the face-needs dimension. Based on the results of these analyses, a prediction is made about what might happen in a genuine intercultural setting. (VWL)

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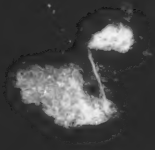

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How conversation is organized in Spanish and Danish negotiation interaction

1. Introduction

1.1 Aim of paper

The purpose of the present paper is to account for some of the results from a contrastive study of Spanish and Danish communicative behaviour, where the focus of attention has been directed towards the microlevel of discourse in order to find recurrent patterns in the local management organization in conversation. What has been made subject to analysis is the use of speaker and hearer references, topic allocation and topic progression. It is argued that the functional value of these patterns can be explained in terms of the immediacy concept and the face-needs dimension. Based on the results of these analyses it is predicted what might happen in a genuine intercultural setting.

1.2 Data used

The data used for the the analysis that will be accounted for in the present paper consist of video-tapes of role-plays recorded during negotiation seminars arranged by Spanish and Danish training centres. Since in both cases the target groups were professional negotiators, and the training programme used to improve their negotiation skills was exactly the same, the data do in fact offer an important advantage, viz. they are easily comparable. Taking all these similarities into consideration, important differences in the way in which the negotiation proceeds in the Spanish and Danish performances have to be attributed at least to some extent to culture specific factors.

2.0 General observations to conversational organization

2.1 Conversation - an organized, rule-governed social activity

Whenever people engage in conversation they all have certain preferences as to how this activity should be organized. Bearing in mind the aim of the study the general observation must be made that these preferences are highly dependent on the norms and conventions (note 1) that prevail in a speech community. In other words, what is considered to be effective communicative behaviour in one speech community might differ substantially from the standards applied in another speech community.

Leaving aside the individual goals each participant wants to achieve the experience he has gained from his previous participations in social activities of the same or a similar kind, is one important ingredient in his conception of how such activities should be carried out. This experience provides him with the frame of reference he needs to be

able consciously to act in accordance with what is usually preferred in such situations, knowing at the same time, as long as we talk about social encounters between participants with the same cultural background, that other participants will interpret his behaviour according to the same or a similar frame of reference. Any conversation is organized in accordance with what is preferred which to some extent is preestablished and to some extent may be generated collectively between the participants. These preferences combined with interactants' ability to recognize regular patterns in the way in which conversation is organized form part of the cognitive equipment available to them when they take part in verbal interaction.

2.2 Psychological dimensions of the interaction space

When the parties meet to a negotiation they intentionally create a temporary nearness to each other. They establish an interactive setting in which their psychological spaces are confronted with each other at the expressive and psychological levels. Since both parties know that they have mutual and conflicting interests, and that the purpose of their meeting is to reach some kind of agreement, it is reasonable to suggest that the interactive tension will be perceived as higher than in other discourse types. For the purpose of the present study it is argued that the psychological nearness established between the parties can be described by means of the "immediacy" concept (Arndt/Janney, 1987; Grindsted, 1990)) and territorially by means of face-needs (Goffman, 1972), where I will be concerned with the personal-face needs dimension, using a linguistic framework that is based on speaker and hearer references, topic allocation, and topic progression.

3.0 Description of linguistic framework

3.1. Speaker and hearer references

How can the "immediacy" concept be accounted for in verbal interaction? Verbal immediacy refers to how closely a speaker associates himself verbally with the interaction, with the topics he communicates about, with his listener(s) or with his own utterances. Choices of verbal intensity will modulate speakers' feelings of immediacy from the greatest possible distance to the most intimate nearness. At the expressive level one important dimension of stylistic choice in this respect is explicitness of reference versus implicitness of reference. Choices among levels of explicitness/implicitness tend to reflect the degree to which a speaker approaches or avoids a certain topic in the presence of his listener (Arndt & Janney:1987). What I will be concerned with is explicitness and implicitness of speaker and hearer references. In his utterance a speaker thus may make reference to himself, to the listener or to both of them, more explicitly or more implicitly.

3.1.1 Speaker and hearer references in dyades and polyades

Several empirical studies have shown that speakers assign a more prominent discourse role to themselves than to their listeners, since most pronominal references are made to the speaker, fewer to the hearer, and fewest to nonparticipants in the interaction. It follows that, as far as referential structure is concerned, verbal interaction could be qualified as typically egocentric (Haverkate:1984, 55). The present data provide no exception to this observation. The interesting point is that the present data do not stem from dyadic but from polyadic speech situations with two speakers and two listeners on each team. What leaps to the eye is that the speaker, whenever he has chosen to take the floor, is free to decide whether he would choose a singular pronoun or a plural pronoun as a speaker reference. It must be observed, of course, that strictly speaking "we" is not the plural of "I" in the sense that it refers to a plurality of speakers, since it is only one speaker who actually performs the communicative act and who can be held responsible for performing that act. The plurality bears on the fact that the speaker and in the present case one other person are collectively engaged in the same state of activity. The first-person plural expressions refer to two distinct roles of the speaker: 1) the performer of a communicative act and 2) a member of the team of persons collectively involved in the state of activity specified by the predicative part of the proposition (Haverkate:1984).

3.2 Topic allocation model

The personal face-needs dimension concerns the individual's need for personal autonomy, i.e. independence, self-determination and an inviolable private sphere. One method to account for this in verbal interaction is to relate choice of speaker and hearer references to the topic of a speaker's utterance (see 4.0). It will in this way be possible to depict interactants' mental constructs of the configuration of the interaction space territorially by means of a topic allocation model. In the topic allocation model the interaction space is divided into 3 territories: 1) territory belonging to one party 2) territory belonging to the other party and 3) a joint territory. 1) and 2) can be further divided into 2 subterritories since each party consists of 2 negotiators.

If we now turn to look at topic allocaton from an operational point of view it will be seen that 1) if the speaker chooses to leave the speaker reference slot of his utterance vacant and the hearer references slot filled, or 2) if he chooses to leave speaker reference slot filled and the hearer reference slot vacant he attaches the topical fragment of his utterance to the listener or to himself respectively, and 3) by making the reference to the relationship between the listener and himself explicit (inclusive "we" reference), the topical fragment of his utterance is attached to both parties. The last possibility 4) is by means of implicit references to leave both speaker and hearer slot vacant, so that the topical fragment of the speaker's utterance, at least at the surface level of discourse, is

not attached to any of the parties.

	speaker	hearer	topic allocation
1)	-	x	with hearer
2)	x	-	with speaker
3)	x	x	with both
4)	-	-	with none

Of course there also exists the possibility to move the topic outside the interaction space by allocating it to non-participants in the interaction. This has been left out of consideration.

As far as dialogue regulation is concerned speakers, by using this simple linguistic device, thus have the possibility to move topics from one territory to another. It can easily be seen that choice of communicative strategy in this respect is a useful tool in negotiation interaction, which is a resolution process where the parties have conflicting interests and in which problems should be solved, resources divided or tasks shared out.

If we apply the above to an example where it is presupposed that the parties do not agree, we can try to predict what influence each choice might have on the interactive process:

a) you must solve this problem
b) I will solve this problem
c) we must solve this problem
d) this is a problem to be solved

From the listener's point of view a discrepant message delivered in a explicit manner as in a), b) and c) will be interpreted as assertive and confrontative, whereas it, if it is delivered in an implicit manner as in d) will tend to put the hearer more at ease and be interpreted as less threatening. In the case of potentially conflictive issues choice of an implicit reference strategy serves the function to decrease the assertive power of messages, and the potential conflict might never be made subject to explicit comments at the surface level of discourse. One of the informal rules of dialogue regulation is that the listener, when confronted with this vagueness of expression, is left open to interpret the message in the way that suits him best. In d) the speaker by his tentative approach to the topic, invites the hearer to determine the question of whom is to solve the problem in a joint negotiation process. In fact, an adequate answer would be a minimal response like "yes", so that the question of whom is to solve the problem, remains

unsettled.
From the speaker's point of view choice of an implicit reference code may serve either the function to soften or minimize negative effects, or to avoid specification so that the possibility of later modifications are not excluded.

If, in the same example, it is presupposed that the parties do agree, it is to be assumed that if an interactant delivers his supportive message in an explicit manner, it will lead to increases in perceived immediacy and will generally tend to put the listener more at ease and be interpreted as a sign of interpersonal involvement. If, on the other hand, a supportive message is delivered in an indirect manner, it will tend to decrease perceived immediacy and may be interpreted as a sign of interpersonal distance.

In terms of personal face needs it is therefore reasonable to assume that the greater the degree of explicitness of references in supportive messages, the greater is the possibility that interactants will perceive that their personal face is ackowledged. In connection with discrepant messages, on the other hand, explicitness of reference will be interpreted as face-threatening.

4.0 Analysing speaker and hearer references and topic allocation

What has been analysed is the first five minutes of the same role-play in four Spanish and four Danish versions. For the sake of argument I assume that any utterance can be broken down into at least 3 different fragments: a topical fragment (which is a constant), a speaker and hearer slot and a discourse regulating slot. The first step of the analysis has been directed towards speaker and hearer slots in isolation to see 1) whether speaker and hearer slots are explicitly filled in, and if so, 2) how this is done (the discourse regulating devices vocatives and attention marking imperatives have been included) (note 2), as well as 3) utterances in which both slots are left vacant have been counted. The second step has been to see how speaker and in particular hearer references are related to the topic of conversation.

4.1 Speaker and hearer references

The speaker and hearer referential strategies categorization used is based on Haverkate's model (1984), the advantage being that this model with its 3 categories described below is very suitable to account for varying degrees of immediacy (note 3):

1) neutral or standard strategies, which are applied by speakers who do not wish to explicitly focus on the way in which they assess their interactional relation with the hearer.
2) focalizing strategies, in which speakers select expressions to bring into prominence the role of the referent in the state of activity described.
3) defocalizing strategies, in which speakers select non-specific or implicit references in

order to minimize or keep silent the role of the referent in the state of activity described.

In terms of immediacy the more focalizing strategies are used the higher is the degree of immediacy, and the more defocalizing strategies are used the lower is the degree of immediacy established to the here and now of conversation.

The results of the analysis appear from the diagramme on page 9.

In the linguistic categories used 1) singular and plural pronouns correspond to standard strategies 2) emphatic pronominal use, pronominal chains including 1st and 2nd person, hearer referential vocatives and attention marking imperatives correspond to focalizing strategies, and 3) implicit speaker and hearer references correspond to defocalizing strategies.

Explicit refences versus implicit references

As far as explicit referential versus implicit referential strategies are concerned the result of the analysis makes it abundantly clear that the Spanish negotiators prefer a far higher degree of immediacy than their Danish counterparts since:

1) they use more pronouns than the Danes
2) they often choose repetitive and emphatic forms of expression
3) they use more inclusive "we's" with reference to both speakers and hearers
4) they use more pronominal chains than the Danes
5) they use more hearer referential vocatives than the Danes
6) they use more attention marking imperatives than the Danes whereas the Danes
7) use more implicit speaker and hearer references.

In general it could be said that the Spanish negotiators are person- oriented and the Danish negotiators task-oriented. The Danish negotiators prefer to use strategies where the topical fragment of utterances plays a central part and is inserted between the interactants as a kind of psychological barrier.

Singular versus plural pronominal references

As mentioned above the fact that an interactant finds himself in a polyadic speech situation where he must act together with a co-negotiator against 2 other negotiators on the other side of the table gives him the possibility whether to choose singular or plural pronominal speaker and hearer references. The observation that can be made is that whereas the Spanish speakers prefer to use plural pronominal references (287) to

singular pronominal references (147), the opposite is the case in the Danish data, where speakers chose more singular (169) that plural pronominal references (111).

There is every reason to assume that this diverging feature between Spanish and Danish communicative behaviour reflects how the Spanish and Danish negotiators generally think conversation should be organized.

When a Spanish negotiator chooses "we" as a speaker reference, he expresses himself on behalf of himself and his co-negotiator on any issue, thus filling up the interaction space to the largest possible degree, although he may not know whether he and his co-negotiator share the same opinion or not. This, in turn, might be a consequence of how they prepared for their joint performance in the role-play.

They did not plan any specific role distribution to be able to carry out the negotiation as a coordinated performance, but wanted to join the game on equal terms (Grindsted, 1990). As far as hearer references in the plural are concerned a similar explanation may be given. A speaker is not able to infer from the other party's performance whether they have made an internal role distribution to the effect that some issues rather belong to one negotiator's domain and other issues to the other negotiator's.

Diagramme: Speaker and hearer references

Explicite references (note 4)	speaker		hearer	
	SP	DK	SP	DK
Singular pronouns	66	104	81	65
plural pronouns	182	85	105	26
Total	248	189	186	91
Emphatic pronominal use	47	-	34	-

	SP	DK
All inclusive 1st plural pronouns	34	12
Pronominal chains including 1st and 2nd person	145	69
Hearer referential vocatives	31	-
Attention marking imperatives	39	2

	SP	DK
Implicit speaker and hearer references	119	200

The Danish negotiators' preference on the other hand to use singular pronominal speaker and hearer references seems to be a natural consequence of the way they prepared for their joint performance. When a Danish speaker takes the floor, he will frequently act according to a preestablished role distribution where he has assumed the responsibility to negotiate about specific issues. The same line of argumentation could be used of hearer references in the singular where a speaker from the other party's performance is able to infer which issues belong to whose domain on the opposite party.

The below example, where sellers (A and B) and buyers (C and D) approach the topic of the selling price of a fishing boat, serves to illustrate the results that have been described for. All explicit speaker and hearer references have been underlined.

Spain

1D entonces que que que paquete es el que teneis in mente ofrecernos
what package is it then you have in mind to offer us
2C hombre mas que paquete decirnos cuanto nos va a costar la broma
now look more than the package tell us how dear this affair will be
3B bueno pues nosotros habiamos pensado en de acuerdo a la situacion que tiene el barco creemos que el barco esta en perfectas condiciones para tener tres años esta bastante bien sabeis que que un barco nuevo de las mismas caracteristicas anda en torno a los doce trece millones de pesetas y bueno pues nosotros consideramos que que un precio bastante bastante real bastante logico que logicamente tampoco queremos que sea totalmente totalmente inflexible son pues en torno a los siete millones de pesetas
well yes we had thought that according to the condition of the boat we think that the boat is in a perfect condition for a three year old boat it is quite good you know that that a new boat of the same type costs about twelve or thirteen million pesetas and well we think that that a rather rather realistic rather reasonable price and of course we do not want it to be totally totally inflexible is well about seven million pesetas
4D hombre te quieres forrar con esta operacion eh
good heavens you want to make a packet out of this deal don't you
5C (risas) que pasada se ha pegado
(laughter) what kind of trick is this
6B que pasa os parece mucho
what is the matter do you think it is a lot
7C hombre que te dire
look what can I say to you
8A eso es lo que vale el barco y lo sa
that is what the boat is worth and
9B es lo que vale el barco

that is what the boat is worth
10A y lo sabeis vosotros
and you know it
11D hombre pero teneis que ser un poquillo eh
but look here you have to be a little you know
12B hombre ya os estamos diciendo que somos totalmente totalmente flexibles es decir
wait a minute we have already told you that we are totally totally flexible that is
13D nosotros nosotros
we we
14B podemos podemos ir 100.000 pesetas arriba 100.000 pesetas abajo
we can we can go 100,000 pesetas up 100,000 pesetas down
15D ah hombre hombre ese barco sabeis donde lo habeis comprado como lo habeis comprado os ha costado un millon y medio de pesetas
now wait a minute wait a minute that boat you know where you bought it how you bought it it cost you one and a half million pesetas
16A como
what
17B como
what
18D si hombre (risas) si ya nos hemos enterado si estuvimos nosotros a punto de de de ir a la subasta
yes that's it (laughter) we already know we were on the point of going to the auction
19 B un millon y medio de pesetas
one and a half million pesetas
20D el banco de Santander os vendio no
the bank of Santander sold it to you didn't they
21A si
yes
22B un millon y medio de pesetas
one and a half million pesetas
23D no se son las malas lenguas probablemente
I don't know it is gossip maybe

24B madre mia
good heavens
25A (risas) eso solo nos costo la poliza (risas) no hombre
(laughter) it only cost us the insurance (laughter) oh no dear me
26D lo obtuvisteis en una subastilla y ahi el precio eh
you got it at an auction and hence the price isn't it so
27A si si pero
yes yes but

28D fue fue francamente bajo vais a obtener ahi un un beneficio del cuatro mil por cien hombre

it was it was really low you will get a profit there of four thousand per cent you will
29A no no tanto ni mucho menos
no no not that much at all
30B no no la verdad la verdad es que no es cierto lo que estas diciendo no es cierto lo que estas diciendo
no no the truth is the truth is that it is not true what you are saying it is not true what you are saying
31D bien de todas formas..
well in any case

Denmark

1C har du fået den billigt
did you get it cheap
2A ah det er relativt det er jo relativt man øh får jo sjældent æh man må som regel betale for det man får man får sjældent
ah it is relative it is of course relative you er seldom get you know er you usually have to pay for what you get you seldom get what you pay for so it er
3C nå men jeg har hørt den at den sådan den sådan den tidligere ejer der han ikke rigtig ku klare
well but I have heard that the so to speak the previous owner so to speak he could not really pull
4A ja det øh
yes it er
5C skærene
through
6A det er rigtigt det er den samme bank som som finansierer mine øvrige forretninger det er der jeg har købt den det vil jeg
it is true it is the same bank that that finances my other transactions that is where I bought it I do not mind
7C nå
oh
8A godt være ærlig og sige
admitting that
9C ja
yes
10A men altså den det var umiddelbart en før en en tvangsauktion ikke og så tænkte jeg nå det var måske vores indfaldsvinkel til til til fiskerierhvervet og og få noget forretning

ikke

but that is it it was immediately befor a foreclosure auction you know and then I thought well that it was maybe our approach to to to the fishing industry to to do some business you know

11D hvor hvor fiskede han fra

where where was he fishing from

12A øh båden var registreret i Boston

er the boat was registered in Boston

13D ahm

aha

14A så jeg ved at

so I know that

15D noget hummer

some lobster

16A som som jeg siger jeg er ikke øh ikke ekspert i fiskerbåde vel I har været nede og kigge på den og vurdere grejet der er på den og sådan noget ikke

as as I say I am not er not an expert in fishing boats you know you have been looking at it to see the equipment that is on board and things like that haven't you

17D altså det er jo ikke lige just det man bruger

well it is not exactly what you use you know

18C ja men det egner sig ikke til den slags fiskeri som vi skal bruge den til hvis vi sku ha den

yes but it is not fit for the kind of fishing we are going to use it for if we should have it

19A nej men øh den øh der vil der vil også synes jeg være en marginal til jer til at investere yderligere på den båd altså for at være helt ærlig og komme til sagen så har vi tænkt os at vi vil tilbyde jer den til135.000 for hvad jeg har læst

no but er it er there will also I think be a margin for you to make further investments in that boat that is to be quite honest and get down to business then we have thought that we will offer it to you for 135,000 for according to what I have read

20D er det så medøh ombygningen

is it with the rebuilding then

21A nej det er som den står

no that is as it is

22C hm

hem

23A det er som den står altså jeg har læst her æh jeg har kigget i nogle i nogle nogle nogle annoncer for både nu ved jeg selvføigelig ikke om om de bliver solgt til det vel men tilsvarende både af samme alder og lignende udstyr som som det der er på vores ikke de ligger fra en 100.000 til en 180.000 ikke afhængig af stand

that is as it is that is I have read here er I have been looking at some some some some advertisements for boats well I do not know of course if if they are sold for that yhou know but similar boats of the same age and with similar

equipment as that on our's you know they vary from 100,000 to 180,000 you know depending on the condition
24C ja
yes
25A og den er pæn det
and it is a nice boat
26B den er velholdt
it is well maintained
27C jae men der er jo det ved det at vi skal jo ofre nogle tusind før vi kan
yes but there is one thing about it you know we have to spend some thousands before we can
28A nåmen der er jo
well but there is you know
29C vi kan bruge den
we can use it
30A der er jo også en marginal fra 135 til 180 ikke
there is also a jump from 135 to 180 don't you think
31C nåe ja men jeg synes da 135 i første omgang er højt (latter)
well yes but I think in fact that to begin with 135 is a lot
32A ja øh
yes er
33C æh jeg havde da nærmere forestillet mig noget i retning af 120
er I had rather thought of someting like 120

In spite of the fact that the Spanish example is a little bit shorter than the Danish one you nevertheless find 49 Spanish explicite speaker and hearer references against 30 Danish.

4.2 Speaker versus hearer references and topic allocation

It is not surprising that both as far as the Spanish and the Danish data are concerned, we find more speaker than hearer references. This supports the results from other empirical studies which have shown that speakers assign a more prominent discourse role to themselves than to their listeners (Haverkate:1984). When it comes to hearer references alone, however, we find a significantly higher proportion in the Spanish (186) than in the Danish data (91).

It has earlier been pointed out that speaker and hearer references should not only be analysed in isolation but also related to the topical fragment of a speaker's utterance.

The topics to be taken into account in the role-plays are given in advance. Some of these topics are not negotiable, others concern issues to be negotiated. Topics that are not negotiable could from a territorial point of view be said to belong to a specific negotiator beforehand. Such topics could be described as various kinds of background information about each party, as e.g. personal records. The value of such information is either that it can be used in the preliminary stage of the negotiation where the interpersonal relationship between the parties is to be established or that it can be used as arguments in support or in contradiction of points of views. Negotiable topics do not have any territorial relationship beforehand. They concern the goals to be achieved in later stages of the negotiation interaction. One aspect of negotiation thus is to negotiate topic allocation.

What has been made subject to investigation in this connection is cases where speakers from a strategic point of view have chosen to leave the speaker slot vacant and the hearer slot filled, which in the interactional process serves the function to place the topic of conversation with the opposite party. Whichever mood (note 5) is chosen and whatever topic is touched upon, this strategy will be interpreted in a negotiation context as reflecting varying degrees of assertiveness, reaching its maximum if it is reinforced by the use of vocatives and attention marking imperatives, and if the topic concerns objects/affairs that belong or are attached to the listener's domain or if they concern his person in itself.

The result of the analysis in this respect is that whichever topic is touched upon the Spanish negotiators permit each other to penetrate much further into own territory than the Danish negotiators. They often make negative value judgements about each others' affairs or behaviour in the declarative mood. The Spanish negotiators could generally be qualified as more person-oriented than their Danish counterparts. These features contribute to establishing an overt face-threatening negotiation atmosphere with endless defend and attack spirals. Spanish negotiators seem much concerned with protecting their own face. The Danish negotiators never reach the same level of overt attacking behaviour. If they want to touch topics belonging to the opposite party's domain or allocate negotiable topics to the other party, they would proceed tentatively using the interrogative mood and they seldom comment on each other's behaviour. Danish negotiators could generally be described as task-oriented and much concerned with protecting each other's face.

Secondly, as far as the interactive aspect is concerned, shifts between different reference codes have been analysed, namely shifts between singular and plural speaker and hearer reference code, and shifts between explicit and implicit reference code.

It has previously been observed that the plural reference code is the prevailing in the Spanish data. Shifts to the singular reference code frequently occur in situations when negotiable topics are touched upon and when speakers do not share the same opinion as

to how the issue should be approached. As far as hearer references are concerned shifts from the plural to the singular are often used in an attempt to play off one negotiator against the other. In the example such shifts occur in the following exchanges: 3B-4D, 6B-7C, 28D-30B.

In the Danish data the singular pronominal speaker and hearer pronominal reference code prevails. Exchange structures where there is a code shift from the singular to the plural have therefore been analysed. These shifts often seem to occur in connection with negotiable topics where potential conflictive situations might arise, and there is every reason to assume that their function is to avoid strategies involving personal directness or confrontation, which especially in conflictive situations conveys a feeling of embarrassment between speakers and hearers in the interaction. In the example such shifts occur in the following exchange:16A-19A.

If we turn to shifts between explicit and implicit reference codes they occur in the Spanish example in e.g. 3B-5C and 7C-9B, and in the Danish example in: 1C-2A. The overall result of the analysis is hardly surprising, i.e. that in general such shifts occur more frequently in the Danish than in the Spanish data.

4.3 Topic progression

The macrostructurer of discourse can be broken down into sequences with an internal referential structure which is held together by the topic of conversation (Goldberg: 1983). Such a sequence could be called a language or a dialogue game (Severinson: 1983, Carlson: 1983, Linell & Gustavsson: 1987). A topic shift indicates that one language game has terminated and another begun. The term topic progression is used to refer to the internal sequencing structure in a game. One aspect of games is that they should lead to some kind of outcome or result. If the Spanish and Danish data are compared in this respect, there seems to be a striking difference in the way in which conversation is organized.

If we look at the Spanish example the previous talk has been about rigging expenses for off-shore fishing. In 1D and 2C the buyers ask the sellers to make an offer, and 4D is a direct personal attack on the sellers. By the end of the sequence the buyers change the topic of conversation to the possibiliy of entering into a partnership with the sellers, the only link to the previous move being the vague expression "bien de todas formas". In the Danish example the previous talk has been about the kind of business the sellers are doing. In 19A the buyers makes an offer. Contrary to the Spanish example the sellers try to explore in an indirect manner (no speaker and hearer references) what the price includes. In 33C they make an explicite counter-offer.

The point I would like to make is that in a Spanish language game the opening move(s) will often be expressed in an explicit manner, and the closing move(s) in an implicit manner. This/these last move(s) could be described as a kind of retreat in order to close a conflicitve exchange spiral, where no agreement is arrived at. In the Danish data the opposite sequencing structure is frequent. The opening move(s) will often be expressed in an implicit manner, i.e. a tentative, non confrontative manner, and the closing move(s), where some kind of agreement has been made, in an explicit manner.

5.0 Spanish and Danish negotiators in an intercultural setting

By relating speaker and hearer references and topic allocation and topic progression to the immediacy concept and the personal face needs dimension it has been found that Spanish negotiators establish a high degree of immediacy to the here and now of conversation. They could generally be described as person-oriented and not interested in making a coordinated performance, and confrontative, allowing each other to penetrate much further into their psychological territories than is the case in Denmark. They seem more interested in protecting own face than the other's. Danish negotiators on the other hand prefer to establish a low degree of immediacy to the here and now of conversation. They are more task-oriented and proceed in a tentative, coordinated way. They prefer to avoid overt conflicts and make every effort to protect other's face.

If one should try to predict how Spanish and Danish negotiators might interpret each other's behaviour in an intercultural setting the following hypotheses might be made: Spanish negotiators will interpret Danish negotiators as emotionally uninvolved and impersonal, that they reject intimacy and is too concerned with doing business. Danish negotiators will interpret Spanish negotiators as self-assertive, confrontative and uncooperative. They will think that the negotiaton is much more time and energy consuming than is necessary.

Notes

1. For a discussion of the difference between norms and conventions, see Shimanoff (1980).
2. Obvious intances of stuttering have been excluded
3. The only differences are that 1) pronominal chains have been included, since this category by explicitly making a link between interactants emphasizes the interrelationship between the parties, and 2) that no distinction between non-specific and implicit references is made.
4. It should be observed that in the Spanish verbal inflection system person appears from the ending, whereas the Danish inflection system requires the insertion of a personal pronoun. Thus the Spanish system renders a possibility of making double representation (both inflectional ending and personal pronoun, not present in the Danish system. Contrary to Danish the Spanish language system also gives the possibility of double representation in the case of the personal pronoun in direct and indirect object position with its emphatic and non-emphatic forms. In the analysis grammatical subject's inflectional ending counts as 1 (compramos) and double represenation as 2 (nosotros compramos). In the case of pronouns in direct and indirect object position the same principle has been used. Thus single representation counts as 1 (le compramos un barco), and double representation as 2 (le compramos un barco a él).
5. I have distinguished between the declarative, interrogative and imperative moods.

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